

Engineers Assess Selves \$7,200,000 To Rescue Banks

Withdraw Annual Support of
\$48,000 from Their Own
Labor Paper

CLEVELAND, Ohio—The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, closing the fourth week of its convention here, has thus far taken these steps:

Made the first move to provide an immediate \$2,500,000 needed to free frozen assets, including its \$15,000,000 real estate department at Venice, Fla.

Sanctioned an assessment of \$120 on each of its 60,000 members, to be raised \$5 a month over two years, giving a \$7,200,000 fund for new money in the brotherhood's financial enterprises, now shown with nominal assets of \$88,000,000.

Refused to continue the \$48,000 a year contribution to "Labor," a weekly labor newspaper, as it did not feel financially able to continue subscriptions for members' "amusements."

Ordered abolished the offices of president, held by W. B. Prenter; First Vice President L. G. Griffing; Second Vice President H. P. Daugherty and Secretary C. E. Lindquist, effecting an annual \$50,000 saving.

These last two moves constitute the majority of the retrenchment program and they are both political. The first is said to be a slap at Herman E. Willis, assistant grand chief and legislative representative, who is the head of "Labor."

Abolition of the offices was the means taken by the group led by Ley Johnston, grand chief engineer, to attain executive leadership of the brotherhood for Johnston.

A board of three trustees was created to manage the 11 banks, with assets of \$48,000,000, and seven investment companies, listed as worth \$40,000,000. This board is charged with employment of experts to manage the brotherhood finances.

Citizens Challenge Muscle Shoals Grab

Alabama Power Co.'s monopoly of Muscle Shoals is being challenged by a committee of 60 citizens of Muscle Shoals City. This community on the banks of the Tennessee river near the south's greatest power development, is asking the department to sell power directly at the rate paid by the city, and to subsidize—2 mills per kilowatt hour.

The war department is placed in the embarrassing position of deciding whether the Alabama Power Co. shall be vented in a right to skin communities in its territory, or whether they can buy publicly generated power at bedrock prices without paying toll to the trust.

Save Sacco and Vanzetti!

Governor Fuller's decision postponing the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti until August 10 gives the forces of justice throughout the world 30 more days to save the victims of class prejudice and injustice from the electrical chair.

Make Governor Fuller feel that the whole body of civilized opinion is that these men are innocent and he will be able to see the problem from that angle.

Last week Governor Fuller received a petition for justice for Sacco and Vanzetti signed by 474,842 American citizens in all parts of the United States. A similar petition was sent from France with 2,000,000 signatures. The representatives of 20,000,000 trade unionists and Socialists throughout the world voiced the same demand recently in Geneva.

Europe is far outstripping America in demanding justice in this case. Let the American workers do their part and save Sacco and Vanzetti in the next 30 days.

26 Corporations Take Fifth of All Corporate Incomes

Here are the 26 richest corporations in America. They own better than 22 billion dollars or 16 per cent of the corporate wealth of America, which amounts to more than 140 billion dollars and is shared by 350,000 corporations. These 26 concerns enjoy an annual income of \$1,701,500,000, which is 21 per cent of the \$8,100,000,000 profits shared by the 350,000 corporations. The figures are from a report by the Statistical Company, and illustrate graphically the alarming concentration of wealth and power in a few hands in the United States.

Industrial	Invested Capital	1926 Profit
U.S. Steel	\$2,212,000,000	\$133,000,000
So. Pac.	1,969,000,000	67,500,000
A. T. & T.	1,687,000,000	134,500,000
Penn. R.R.	1,515,000,000	97,500,000
N.Y. Cent.	1,270,000,000	84,500,000
St. Oil N.J.	1,144,000,000	117,700,000
Union Pac.	1,035,000,000	58,800,000
Santa Fe	968,000,000	71,500,000
B. & O.	874,000,000	55,500,000
Gen. Elec.	736,000,000	43,900,000
Ford Mot.	715,000,000	89,900,000
C. M. St. P.	687,000,000	16,900,000
Cens. Gas.	650,000,000	47,900,000
Gen. Mot.	637,000,000	176,000,000
St. Oil N.Y.	629,000,000	35,500,000
Ill. Cen.	522,000,000	42,100,000
Thy. Steel	509,000,000	32,500,000
St. Ry.	500,000,000	38,000,000
N. Am. Co. (util.)	586,000,000	43,700,000
St. Oil Cal.	544,000,000	55,100,000
C. & O.	478,000,000	39,000,000
St. Oil Ind.	403,000,000	55,100,000
Nor. & W.	355,000,000	49,700,000
Nor. Elec.	329,000,000	49,700,000
Dupont	279,000,000	42,100,000
Total	\$22,245,000,000	\$1,701,500,000

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS, SUPERMAN

By Sam Moore

(Prisoner No. 23)

I shall in the following article attempt to portray the man as I knew him. I say attempt, because I know of my inability to do justice. There has been so much written by those who were far better equipped from an educational standpoint to put before the public a true diagnosis of the wonderful characteristics of this great man; but while they had the power of description or describing they had not the close intimate association and knowledge of the "inner man" as your writer had.

Debs was not in the habit of carrying his soul around—upon his sleeve naked and exposed to the uncomprehending gaze of the cruel and misunderstanding world. He preferred to suffer uncomplaining and in silence, and I am proud of the great distinction of being one of the very few, if there ever was another, who enjoyed his friendship. And when he did not have such an extent as to sit in silent communion with him for hours without a word being exchanged, as he and I have time and time again.

The First Meeting

I first came to know Debs when I was taken from the isolation and put into the hospital by Dr. Weaver because of a nervous breakdown. I had been in isolation for ten months, during which time Mr. Debs had arrived at the Prison and owing to his weak heart, was assigned to the hospital. Upon my admission to the hospital and assignment to Ward "B" where I was put to bed, ten minutes later I was surprised to see a tall, and seemingly the most homeliest; but later the most beautiful gentleman, approach my bed and grasp my hand, saying, "Brother—Brother—Brother—Cheer up. Are you Sam Moore? I have heard so much talk about you, but this is the first time I ever saw you." And when I started to explain, he said "I understand! 'Poor fellow.' Is there anything I can do for you, what do you need, would you like some fruit?" And I said yes, and he patted me on the head and went to his room and brought me some fruit, and from that day on he was at my bed morning and night until I was dismissed by the doctor and returned to the isolation.

He then bent all of his energy to have me released, which took about a month. I was then detailed to the hospital as a cleaner, so as to be under Debs' guidance and influence, and you guessed that I was a happy soul. Upon completing my allotted task each day, I would go and look for Debs, and we would sit and talk for hours until meal hour. Then right back again. He was a puzzle and a new kind of a specimen to me, and I marvel at his wonderful nature. I wonder if this man isn't another Christ—he cannot be human, he loves everybody, even me, a poor insignificant nothing. In this man, I found the expression "Love to all, and malice to none" magnified a hundred fold. He so impressed me that I was a changed man, guiding star for my creed. He so impressed me that I was a changed man, guiding star for my creed. He so impressed me that I was a changed man, guiding star for my creed.


Mission of Mercy

During his incarceration in the Atlanta Prison he was continually before the Deputy Warden who would give some poor fellow another chance, and many are the boys he saved from the "hole," and had released from the "hole" by his intervention.

Debs used to say time and time again in his talk with me, "Sam, I would rather be in a hole with the poor, with only a crust to eat, than live in

(Cont. on page 3)

THE WAR WEB



The Three-headed Spider of Capitalist Militarism (Represented by Italy, Britain and France) Weaves its web around Egypt, Russia, the Balkans and China.

The above cartoon is from the New Leader, official organ of the British Labor Party. It startlingly portrays the war danger as realized by the workers of Europe.

The present imperialist policy and financially dominant position of the United States embodies a war danger to the world of equal moment and magnitude.

Consider these facts:

By his continued insistence President Coolidge has brought about at Geneva a conference of the three greatest naval powers in the world—the United States dominating the Western Hemisphere, Great Britain dominating Europe and Africa, Japan dominating Asia, ostensibly for the purpose of limiting armament, but really for the purpose of instituting Coolidge economy in controlling the world.

That conference to date has resulted only in INCREASING the armament of these three dominant powers and their war expenses.

It is not half over, but it has already added over this country an enormous cruiser-building program—

THE AMERICAN WAR DANGER

an obligation for the United States to increase its fleet of war cruisers to capacity to 400,000 tons.

If this conference goes on until a binding agreement is reached between these three powers, whatever that agreement is—whether it increases or slightly reduces the naval armament of these three powers—THE AGREEMENT THAT IS REACHED WILL BE A PROCLAMATION TO THE REST OF THE WORLD THAT THESE THREE NATIONS HAVE UNITED TO MAINTAIN THEIR SUPREMACY OVER THE WORLD BY FORCE OF ARMS.

If, on the other hand, this conference strikes some insuperable obstacle, the United States has already proclaimed what there is going to be—THERE IS GOING TO BE THE MOST GIGANTIC AND COSTLY ARMAMENT RACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

But the monstrous joke, the ghastly irony of this situation, lies in the fact that future wars do not lie in the direction of navies, but in the direction of the battle planes of the air with their deadly rain of poison

Stop War Now by Refusing to Fight

Lydia G. Wentworth

Ambassador Houghton's speech at the Harvard commencement in which he suggested that the decision of peace or war be made a matter of democratic instead of autocratic control, has aroused much discussion in this section and doubtless throughout the country. One letter to "The Boston Herald," says in part:

"The people now and without legal authority possess a power in the matter which they do not realize. They can, if they wish, veto any war which their government declares by the simple expedient of refusing to support it. A minority, even a small minority, of the whole people of a country, if steadfast in their refusal to fight, could make it impossible for the war to be waged as long as they maintained their position, for prisons and detention camps could hardly hold even a small percentage of the population, and it would prove impracticable to conscript an army with appreciable numbers refused to participate.

"Thus whether or not we adopt some such proposal as Mr. Houghton suggests, the fact is that the people now can decide whether a war shall be fought, and themselves will be to blame if they enter upon a war where the necessity is open to doubt. This decision is one they are called upon to make, not by the law of their country, but by the law of humanity."

—Arthur Minot Reed, Belmont, June 24.

Since the close of the World War this idea of refusal to fight has found expression in the "No More War" movement in England which has spread to twenty other countries. In this country the Women's Peace Society and the Women's Peace Union require an absolute

During Coolidge's "Peace" Conference

LONDON—The British Royal air force put on a thrilling, dare devil sham aerial battle to defend London today before 100,000 onlookers at the Tower, including King George and Queen Mary.

The crowd saw planes dropping in flames, shuddered at planes, charging, maneuvering and pursuing one another, heard the staccato of machine guns as the rival squadrons dogged each other in a new upside down through the low lying flame reflecting clouds.

Today's annual affair included tests of the bulldogish looking fighters, the Gloster Gamecock planes, one of which the British airmen lent Col. Charles A. Lindbergh to fly back to Paris from London. They are single seaters, capable of climbing 10,000 feet in 6 1/2 minutes and making 150 miles an hour at that altitude. Two all metal twin-engine twin-engine bombers, named the Sidstrand, was also in action.

Workers' Homes Sold; Low Wages One Cause

PHILADELPHIA—Low wages is a factor in the increasing number of homes in this city that are sold under foreclosure, according to H. E. Bartow, secretary of the Pierce School of Business Administration.

Glib salesmen dispose of homes on small margin. Many purchasers are unable to meet the carrying charges. These forced sales have grown in number from 675 in 1920 to 2,052 in 1925 and more than 4,000 in 1926.

"The trend of home building in all the large cities," said Mr. Bartow, "is toward apartment houses. Of all the families provided with new living accommodations in 1921, 24 per cent were in apartment houses and 58 in single residences. In our larger cities almost one-half of the new housing under construction are apartments."

Sinclair Sells Fig Leaf Issue of "Oil" And Defies Arrest

NEW YORK—Before returning to his home in Pasadena, Calif., Upton Sinclair stated that he would give the Boston censors another fight this fall when the book clerk who sold the banned novel Oil is put on trial on a charge of violating the obscenity law.

Sinclair sold an unexpurgated Oil in the Puritan City but the police refused to arrest him. His next move was to parade through the streets as a sandwich man, selling a special Fig Leaf Edition of the book, with the 9 censored pages humorously blocked out with black figleaves.

A. C. Boni, publishers of Oil, say its sales gained a thousand percent since the Boston censors got busy.

ARE OVERALLS UN-AMERICAN?

San Francisco Super-Patriots Bar 11 Year Old Son of Sick World War Vet from School

In America, "the workers' paradise," where there is so much ballyhooning about "the dignity of labor," overalls are becoming un-American. Read the following newspaper story of what happened a few weeks ago in a San Francisco public school to the 11 year old son of an invalid World War veteran:

SAN FRANCISCO, June 9.—The disclosure that Robert Anderson, 11, had been barred from San Francisco public school because he wore overalls was made last night by the boy's mother, Mrs. R. L. Anderson, wife of a World War veteran who is ill in a Sacramento hospital.

Mrs. Anderson, in a letter of appeal to the Chronicle, declared she had been requested to take Robert to a charitable institution to be supplied with garments more acceptable to the school principal, but that she had considered the overalls unobjectionable and disliked the idea of calling upon charity to aid her.

Mrs. Alice R. Norton, principal of the Harrison school, which Robert attended, declared it was "not customary" to permit older boys to wear overalls.

"In the interest of developing good citizenship," she said, "the teachers insist that parents provide other clothing if they are able. If they are not, other clothes are furnished through charitable agencies."

Mrs. Anderson said she had taken a job at \$50 a month to support herself and two children during the illness of her husband, and was unable to furnish her boy with better clothes for the time being. She said she had been asked by Miss Dorothy Miles of the administrative department of the public schools to take her boy to a charity house to be fitted with other wearing apparel.

"I cannot take him," said Mrs. Anderson. "I cannot leave my work. He is too young and too much of a stranger here to find his way alone. Besides, I am not seeking charity. My boy's overalls were new. They were clean and fresh from the laundry. Why should such clothes be considered unsuitable?"

Meanwhile, with the close of the school year approaching and Robert's chances for promotion hanging in the balance, he remains out of school.

Sacco And Vanzetti Adjudged Innocent By George Branting

Another disinterested investigator has added his opinion to a great body of similar opinion by investigators that Sacco and Vanzetti are innocent. George Branting, son of the late Socialist Premier of Sweden, who came to America to investigate the Sacco-Vanzetti case for a large Labor and Liberal element in Europe will carry back the message that these men are the victims of prejudice and injustice.

Branting's preliminary report to Stockholm has been cabled back to the Boston Sacco-Vanzetti committee by the Swedish Sacco-Vanzetti committee with which the attorney is connected. It reads:

"Prosecutor's evidence on decisive points outweighed by counter-evidence. Remaining circumstances relied on by prosecutor extremely uncertain and contradicted by probabilities. According to my best judgment, non-convictions would have been pronounced if case tried under normal judicial conditions. My opinion about Vanzetti's first trial is the same. Can only explain verdicts by prejudice against Italian witnesses and radical opponent who jury's good judgment undermined. Find no satisfactory explanation of refusal to grant motions for new trial."

"Several long talks with Sacco and Vanzetti and other observations and discoveries compared with facts shown by records have given me strong persuasion Sacco and Vanzetti are quite innocent."

House of Lords Plot Raises Storm Throughout Britain

LONDON—Opposition to the British cabinet's plan to reorganize the house of lords is spreading.

The Conservative council, on a show of hands, rejected a resolution to approve the plan and then passed a resolution approving it in ten minutes.

Cabinet members at the meeting grew alarmed. Colonial Secretary L. S. Amery said the government's plans would be subject to amendment.

Meanwhile the Liberals are threatening all their force against the plan. Labor will move for a vote of censure in parliament to afford to debate in the house of commons.

It is reported there is a schism in the cabinet.

Workers' Homes Sold; Low Wages One Cause

PHILADELPHIA—Low wages is a factor in the increasing number of homes in this city that are sold under foreclosure, according to H. E. Bartow, secretary of the Pierce School of Business Administration.

Glib salesmen dispose of homes on small margin. Many purchasers are unable to meet the carrying charges. These forced sales have grown in number from 675 in 1920 to 2,052 in 1925 and more than 4,000 in 1926.

"The trend of home building in all the large cities," said Mr. Bartow, "is toward apartment houses. Of all the families provided with new living accommodations in 1921, 24 per cent were in apartment houses and 58 in single residences. In our larger cities almost one-half of the new housing under construction are apartments."

Stop War Now by Refusing to Fight

Lydia G. Wentworth

Ambassador Houghton's speech at the Harvard commencement in which he suggested that the decision of peace or war be made a matter of democratic instead of autocratic control, has aroused much discussion in this section and doubtless throughout the country. One letter to "The Boston Herald," says in part:

"The people now and without legal authority possess a power in the matter which they do not realize. They can, if they wish, veto any war which their government declares by the simple expedient of refusing to support it. A minority, even a small minority, of the whole people of a country, if steadfast in their refusal to fight, could make it impossible for the war to be waged as long as they maintained their position, for prisons and detention camps could hardly hold even a small percentage of the population, and it would prove impracticable to conscript an army with appreciable numbers refused to participate.

"Thus whether or not we adopt some such proposal as Mr. Houghton suggests, the fact is that the people now can decide whether a war shall be fought, and themselves will be to blame if they enter upon a war where the necessity is open to doubt. This decision is one they are called upon to make, not by the law of their country, but by the law of humanity."

—Arthur Minot Reed, Belmont, June 24.

Since the close of the World War this idea of refusal to fight has found expression in the "No More War" movement in England which has spread to twenty other countries. In this country the Women's Peace Society and the Women's Peace Union require an absolute

Tory Anti-Union Bill Passes in Its Original Form

Labor Party Will Attempt to Force Issue to Vote of the People this Fall.

The Tory majority in the British House of Commons has passed the anti-labor "black leg charter" bill practically without change. The Labor-Socialist forces fought desperately step by step against this vicious measure to the last ditch. They were literally steam-rollered by the Tory majority. A week's argument counted for nothing. Maxton's concluding speech merely resulted in his expulsion, for calling the government a liar, though his statement could have been proved with ease.

An amendment which the Tories boast about loudly prohibits lockouts as well as certain kinds of strikes. Labor leaders predict that this will work exactly as a similar proclamation recently worked in Italy. An Italian textile company started a lockout to put through a cut in wages, and was summoned before Mussolini's labor court. The court acquitted the company on the ground that the lockout was due to lack of raw materials, and the shut-out workers are still jobless. A similar farce is likely in England.

The unions are wondering which of them will be dragged to court first for a smashing this autumn. But there is no sign of yielding. Tory persecution has revived the fighting spirit of British labor, and has started a swing of public opinion toward the labor side.

Labor leaders believe that if they can force a general election on the House of Lords and the trades union bill issues they will carry the country. As Maxton said shortly before his expulsion, "the Lords have delivered themselves into our hands."

Schlossberg and Maurer Urge More Industrial Unions

James H. Maurer, president, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, gave the labor movement something to think about when they urged more industrial forms and methods of organization for the trade unions. The two labor leaders were addressing the summer camp of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment, Pa.

"The trade union movement must free itself from craft unionism," said the clothing leader. The steel strike, he pointed out, was broken by the lack of unity of the many crafts claiming jurisdiction.

Labor men present could not forget that Schlossberg's organization had opened its doors most generously to the steel strikers.

Maurer shed further light on the failure of steel unionism. He gave the case of Steelton, Pa., where 5,000 steel workers were enthusiastically united in a common steel workers' council. Craft unionism, he said, so far as local craft union meetings were concerned, but the solidarity of the men as steel workers was achieved through the council. Then came international union leaders with a separation policy, and the movement disintegrated till today there is no longer a union man in the mills.

Like all the labor novelists other books Oil is a big seller in Germany, Britain and other European countries.

During Coolidge's "Peace" Conference

LONDON—The British Royal air force put on a thrilling, dare devil sham aerial battle to defend London today before 100,000 onlookers at the Tower, including King George and Queen Mary.

The crowd saw planes dropping in flames, shuddered at planes, charging, maneuvering and pursuing one another, heard the staccato of machine guns as the rival squadrons dogged each other in a new upside down through the low lying flame reflecting clouds.

Today's annual affair included tests of the bulldogish looking fighters, the Gloster Gamecock planes, one of which the British airmen lent Col. Charles A. Lindbergh to fly back to Paris from London. They are single seaters, capable of climbing 10,000 feet in 6 1/2 minutes and making 150 miles an hour at that altitude. Two all metal twin-engine twin-engine bombers, named the Sidstrand, was also in action.

Workers' Homes Sold; Low Wages One Cause

PHILADELPHIA—Low wages is a factor in the increasing number of homes in this city that are sold under foreclosure, according to H. E. Bartow, secretary of the Pierce School of Business Administration.

Glib salesmen dispose of homes on small margin. Many purchasers are unable to meet the carrying charges. These forced sales have grown in number from 675 in 1920 to 2,052 in 1925 and more than 4,000 in 1926.

"The trend of home building in all the large cities," said Mr. Bartow, "is toward apartment houses. Of all the families provided with new living accommodations in 1921, 24 per cent were in apartment houses and 58 in single residences. In our larger cities almost one-half of the new housing under construction are apartments."

Pacifists Block Defense Day Plan

Again it has been demonstrated that America's peace forces are strong enough, if properly aroused, to cope with almost any kind of war or militarist situation.

Their opposition to the war department plan of annually testing the military preparedness of the nation by holding a Defense Day, during which the citizen army of the nation is mobilized for inspection, has caused the government authorities to drop the plan, at least for the present, Washington dispatches say.

Twice, once in 1924 and again in 1925, defense tests were held, despite the opposition of organizations such as the National Council for the Prevention of War, but last year the plans for a third test were abandoned. This year the holding of a defense test has not even been discussed seriously and war department officials say that no test will be held.

The American Legion has always been in favor of such tests and would like to hold them annually.

NEWS AND VIEWS

German Socialism

And Religion

The German Social Democratic party is by odds the biggest political party in Germany. It has nearly a million dues paying members, casts from eight to ten million votes, has 130 members in the Reichstag and owns several hundred daily and weekly papers. IT IS A NATION OF WORKERS STRUGGLING TOWARD A GREATER FUTURE.

It just held a convention in Kiel which passed some important resolutions. The resolutions announced three important policies: (1) Workers of all religious faiths are welcome in the German Social Democracy. The German Socialists henceforth will make every effort to wipe out the divisions of Labor in religious groups which are playing into the hands of the reactionaries. In Germany there are Catholic unions, Protestant unions, and "yellow" company unions in addition to the unions that support the Socialist movement. If the Socialists can unite all these groups of workers victory at the ballot box is certain for them.

(2) The convention earnestly took up the land and agricultural question and a committee was elected to thoroughly sift this problem with the view of finding common grounds upon which the workers in the cities and the rural workers can unite for their mutual emancipation. The Socialist parties of the whole world are studying the farm problem for the same purpose.

(3) The democratic character of the Socialist movement was strongly emphasized and the transformation of the present industrial system through the growth of working class political power and the increasing nationalization of industry was stressed.

(4) The German Socialist Party voted to enter the cabinet and share in the government ONLY when the situation and the strength of the movement guaranteed that such collaboration would definitely help the cause of the workers and ward off reaction.

The statement on the unity of all workers despite religious differences is well worthy of quotation:

As a political party, Socialism rejects every division, every religious, every denominational ground.

The political and social claims of the Labor movement are wholly independent of the religious convictions and views of the world held by its individual elements.

Stop This Frightful

Slaughter of Workers

Labor is organizing in America against the terrible and growing menace of industrial accidents. Last year 35,000 workers were killed and 2,500,000 were injured. It has been

German Socialism

And Religion

shown that 80 per cent of these accidents are preventable. Eighty per cent of them were caused because the present private owners of industry refuse to undertake the expense of proper safety devices. THEY ARE WASTON SACRIFICES TO THE GOD OF PRIVATE PROFIT. These enormous casualties are directly chargeable to the present profit system. AMERICAN CAPITALISM TAKES A YEARLY TOLL OF LIFE BIGGER THAN THE WORLD WAR. The armed workers met last week in Cleveland, Ohio, and formed a defensive organization with two large standing committees to fight this growing menace. They will accomplish much good, but the only way to abolish it is to let those who have to take the real risks of life in industry have full control of the conditions under which they work. When the workers have control of industry—when we have Socialism—industrial accidents will be reduced to their natural and unavoidable minimum, and not until then.

Breeding Parasites

Lying about their income is not the only way America's rich escape taxes. America's rich have been buying interest-bearing, tax-exempt securities until they possess the startling total now of more than fifteen billion dollars worth (15,348,000,000). In 1913 the amount of these securities held was \$4,410,000,000. In 1919, after the war the amount was \$7,860,000,000. It has more than doubled since the war. This form of wealth escapes taxation. These kind of securities are issued by local and state governments and the national government up until recently. The whole organized and productive power of society is a guarantee of payment of interest in these securities. The interest amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars annually. Every person who does productive work works for the owners. The owners have nothing to do but sit tight and look pretty. And this mountain of non-taxable wealth is steadily growing. It is the favorite situation of the pure parasite. This system creates such parasites in increasing numbers every year. How long will we let this process go on? How long can we stand it?

Six judges of the Philippine Supreme Court have applied for permission to retire. They are the American judges who voted solidly to turn the public industries of the Philippines over to American corporations. It is time for them to retire: they have completed their job.

The National Board of Socialist Education of the German Socialist Party is planning to supply Labor and Socialist organizations with films suitable for propaganda work.

Welcome Teachers!

The Teachers' Federation, a nationwide trade union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, met in Chicago last week. Reports showed that it had grown in the last year 20 per cent in membership. One of the fine things that this convention revealed is that the organization is strongly opposed to the tyranny of the capitalist patrioters in the school and is for academic freedom of opinion. The teachers belong with organized labor. As their organized movement grows it will carry an educated and idealistic element into the Labor movement. With their low wages and the suppression of opinion under which they suffer from capitalist-political school boards they need organization and the help of all organized labor. Their coming to labor will be better for them, better for labor, better for the country, and better for social progress.

Lowden, alluding to Coolidge's third term prospect, warns against the danger of a dictatorship in America. Well, now, wouldn't Coolidge make a fine dictator?

Corporate Property

All the corporations in the United States—350,000 of them—own \$140,000,000,000. This gives the capitalist form of ownership a tremendous control in the United States. Farm wealth at present values doesn't amount to a third of this and has no chance against it. Small business is completely at its mercy. In the face of it, labor is confronted with complete industrial slavery, unless it changes its present method. The only hope of America against such a power, which is growing more rapidly than any other power in America, is for its victims to combine and control the government and through the government acquire and control the CORPORATE PROPERTY. Corporate or capitalist property in its very nature is a menace to the prosperity and liberty of the common people. IT WILL RULE THE PEOPLE UNLESS THE PEOPLE OWN AND CONTROL IT.

British Steel

Industry Totters

The poor old capitalist system is breaking down in England. We have heard repeatedly how coal had become an incurable problem—a perpetual crisis. Now comes the news that another basic industry—the steel industry—is also breaking down. The steel industry in England is in a worse position than half the blast furnaces in America are in. The reason for this is on the increase, according to the London Herald. The reason for this condition is that the capacity to produce steel has been developed way beyond the capacity to consume steel in England and the world. Capitalism limits consumption in order to make profits for the owners. The process of increasing production and limiting consumption will go on in all products until we will have to change the system or face irreparable disaster.

Old Age Pensions

There is the possibility that every middle aged person in the United States who lives more than 20 years longer will spend his or her last days under the comforting security of an old age pension. This is a splendid prospect in view of the cruel treatment of aged workers in capitalist America that it is worth the united efforts of all to realize it. The Socialists were the pioneers in this movement and the sole advocates of this splendid provision for the full members of society for many years before other elements began to take it up. Now organized labor is getting more actively behind it every year until six states have adopted old age pension laws—Wisconsin, Colorado, Nevada, Montana, Kentucky, Maryland and New York. Alaska has also adopted an old age pension law. If all persons who expect to become old unite on this proposal, it will soon be realized in every state.

Poor Democrats!

Poor Democrats. They surely are playing in hard luck. Wall Street trusts their willingness, but doubts their ability to deliver the goods to Wall Street.

The south is dry. Their strongest candidate is wet. They cannot carry New York, New York and Al Smith is the only Democrat that can carry New York. Besides, Al is a K. C., and the southern Democrats are mostly K. K. K.

McAdoo has sunk to the low level of a prohibition rafter, thundering against the nullification of the eighteenth amendment—in backwoods localities in which nullification of the fourteenth amendment has been the principal in and outdoor sport for half a century.

They can't hoist the banner of state rights, because the rural strongholds of democracy are for national prohibition and national prohibition is the most flagrant violation of State Rights trade is as dead as free lunch at a even the downward revision of the tariff is no longer popular in the south now that it is becoming industrialized.

They can't accuse the Republicans of swindling this country into the World War, or make them responsible for the failure of the League of Nations, or fasten on them the stigma of having assassinated American freedom by making adherence to the first amendment to the constitution the crime of crimes—because in all these Schweineereien the Democrats were the pioneers.

In short, the Democratic party is like the ten commandments these days—broken and full of "thou shalt not's."

—Oscar Ameringer in the Milwaukee Leader.

Wage Decision May Start Downfall of Watson-Parker Law

The decision by the arbitration board under the Watson-Parker Law refusing a 75 per cent increase in the wages of 50,000 conductors, baggage men and trainmen on fifty-five western roads is the severest blow in years that has been dealt the idea of cooperation between capitalists and workers and the settlement of labor troubles by legalized machinery of arbitration to the exclusion of the strike and independent action by labor. The Watson-Parker Law, strongly supported at its passage by Republicans and Democratic reactionaries and having the support of the Coolidge administration, was an attempt to suppress the class struggle in America—while preserving its causes. Last week this law ran into its first gigantic failure, and as a result, railroad labor, which formerly supported it, is turning from it in disgust.

The majority of the board, consisting of two representatives of the railroad companies, one of each, and one "neutral" member appointed by President Coolidge, based the decision on what the railroads in question were earning in comparison to other railroads, rather than upon what the wage earners were being paid on their roads in comparison to other roads. It was alleged, however, that the railroads had been granted this increase, the western men were denied it on the ground that western roads were earning less on their investments than eastern roads. These employees were refused the increase because the railroad roads, it was alleged, were earning only 4.26 per cent on their capital, although, as it has often been shown, approximately half of the railroad capital is water.

The true interpretation of this decision is that the papers were signed by the "neutral" member appointed by the Coolidge administration—52 per cent on watered stock—before the employees are to receive just and reasonable wages.

This award was made possible by the so-called neutral arbitrators who were appointed to the board, while the two representatives of the workers stood alone for the wage raise. These alleged neutral arbitrators are the big joker in the Watson-Parker act, under which the roads and unions are to agree on neutral representatives. But if they can't agree the neutrals are packed on the board by the permanent board of mediation and this is nominated by Pres. Coolidge. Thus the fraud of ostensibly public representatives of the labor board is exposed. The fraud of the "neutral" representatives also nominated by the president.

Minneapolis Defeat Stirs Socialists

By Lynn Thompson

(Newly Elected Dues-Paying Socialist Member of the Minneapolis School Board)

The deluge is over, and we last Aldor, Rudolph, Everts, Hadley, Scott, and finally on recount, Hancock. The only Labor alderman to be re-elected were Bastis and Gislén.

This is somewhat hard to understand as Mrs. Kinney and myself carried nine wards for the school board in the old labor board election. The members of the school board to be elected in a city-wide field. Mrs. Kinney ran first, Mrs. Decker second and myself third. The Star supported Mrs. Kinney, but fought me. Of course the Journal fought me both. The Tribune was neutral. The defeated candidates were all members of the outgoing board up for reelection. If we had had a strong third candidate we would have won all three offices.

I think we will have to reorganize South Minneapolis under the old time Socialist organization, as there will be no danger now of losing anything. Fear of losing votes was the bugaboo raised by Labor men to induce the Socialists to remain in the background in the election.

I was in spite of the fact that the Journal made an issue of my Socialism. The Journal said that I was the only dues paying Socialist in Minneapolis. I did not deny it, but I am not sure I am the only one. That charge did not seem to scare the voters. I was elected to the 2nd, 4th, 8th and 13th wards. The 2nd and 13th are reactionary strongholds of Minneapolis. I received 4,300 votes in the 8th ward and 5,245 in the 13th.

Employment conditions in Minneapolis are fierce. Never before have I seen so many men out of work this time of the year. The unions are having a hard struggle. The reactionaries certainly have their grip on the city council now, and no doubt will ride their horses to their liking.

Debs, Superman

(Continued from page 1)

a mansion with the rich, and the only reason I could give for his words were that when the poor gave, they usually did it at a sacrifice with a keen pleasure. That made one feel the joy that goes with a truly hearty and unselfish giving. The rich, however, give with a heavy heart, and the "great I am" condescend all about it that causes one to feel that he is being insulted.

Debs never went out to the yard without being approached by at least a hundred men, asking him to write to the judges or some official, and get vouchers, write letters for the illiterate, and he never had a chance to enjoy a ball game or any of the sports indulged in for the hangers-on. They kept the old man so busy

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Proportional Representation

Glaring Injustice of American System And The Remedy

In Two Articles Article II.

By James Oneal

(Editor, New Leader)

Having briefly described the origin of the representative system in my last article we will consider the system that prevails in the United States. Our system is the most unrepresentative in the world. It is in fact a system of rule by a few minority groups and parties. Millions of votes that are cast have no effect in determining the result. They are thrown away.

All this comes of electing members to legislative bodies from single member districts. In each district the majority rule is applied. In the 1926 elections 510,277 Democrats in Pennsylvania failed to elect any Congressmen but 127,482 Democrats in Arkansas elected seven Congressmen. A Democrat's vote in Arkansas is worth many times more than a Democrat's vote in Pennsylvania. In Nebraska 222,000 Republicans elected six Congressmen while 225,000 Republicans elected not one Congressman in North Carolina. Throughout the United States in the election of 1926 5,400,000 votes were cast without helping to choose any Congressmen. The votes were thrown away.

The interesting thing about our ancient representative system is that it works injustice to all parties without exception. In the general election of 1926 the Socialists cast a vote which entitled them to 25 Congressmen but Victor L. Berger was the only Socialist elected to Congress that year. In practically all the northern states the Socialist Party that year was entitled to thousands of members of the legislatures but had less than fifty in the same thing is true of the city councils.

The Proportional Representation Review presents an analysis of the Congressional elections for 1926 which further emphasizes our representative absurdities. I quote:

Glaring Injustice

Consider the Kansas election in 1926. The Republicans and Fusionists nominated legislative and congressional candidates with the following results: Republican vote, 149,853; State Representatives, 90; Congressmen, 7. Fusionist vote, 133,993; State Representatives, 32; Congressmen, 1. The Fusionist vote was almost within 15,000 of the vote of the Republicans yet the Fusionists received only one-third of the State Representatives and only one out of eight Congressmen. Republicans received one Congressman for each 21,000 votes cast while the Fusionists received only one for their 133,993 votes.

The two parties were the same in Iowa the same year and the same result. The Republicans elected the whole delegation of eleven Congressmen with 236,524 votes while the Fusionists with 133,000 votes were disfranchised in Congress. The Republicans received one Congressman for each 22,400 votes cast while the Fusionists received none for their 133,000 votes. Examples like these can be cited over and over again in our election history. They show that even when only two parties contest for power the representation is unfair, no proportion whatever to the vote cast.

Two elections in Indiana present striking absurdities. In 1912 the Democratic Party polled 45.5 per cent of the vote but elected all of the thirteen Congressmen. The total

Democratic vote was 291,268 and the vote for all other parties 349,546. The minority obtained all the Congressmen while the majority obtained none!

In the Indiana election of 1918 the results were reversed. The Democrats polled 44.3 per cent of the vote but obtained not one Congressman. The Republican and other parties obtained 55.7 per cent of the vote and the Republicans elected all thirteen Congressmen. Notice that in the latter election the Democrats polled a vote only 1 per cent less than they did in 1912 when they elected all their Congressmen! Yet in 1918 they were disfranchised in Congress!!

Fruits of Injustice

The more we examine our representative system the more unjust and absurd it appears. Only ignorance and supine indifference on the part of voters of all parties would tolerate the system. There is not an election in the United States in which the voters take a few more examples. In the 1926 elections 510,277 Democrats in Pennsylvania failed to elect any Congressmen but 127,482 Democrats in Arkansas elected seven Congressmen. A Democrat's vote in Arkansas is worth many times more than a Democrat's vote in Pennsylvania. In Nebraska 222,000 Republicans elected six Congressmen while 225,000 Republicans elected not one Congressman in North Carolina. Throughout the United States in the election of 1926 5,400,000 votes were cast without helping to choose any Congressmen. The votes were thrown away.

The interesting thing about our ancient representative system is that it works injustice to all parties without exception. In the general election of 1926 the Socialists cast a vote which entitled them to 25 Congressmen but Victor L. Berger was the only Socialist elected to Congress that year. In practically all the northern states the Socialist Party that year was entitled to thousands of members of the legislatures but had less than fifty in the same thing is true of the city councils.

More Inconsistencies

In Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland and the states south of them the Republicans polled more than one-third of the votes (1,336,455 out of 3,356,120) but elected only 12 members out of 117 (less than one-twelfth). In all the other states, excluding only New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Nebraska, the Democrats polled more than one-quarter of the votes (2,262,205 out of 9,734,455) but elected only 14 members out of 177 (again less than one-twelfth).

The following table and comment from the same publication are also illuminating:

"The 166,707 Republican voters in Maine elected 4 members.

"The 148,266 Republican voters in Oregon elected 3 members.

"The 187,263 Republican voters in Nebraska elected 2 members.

"The 206,244 Democratic voters in West Virginia elected 1 member.

"The 328,835 out-cast voters in Texas elected 17 members.

"The 362,490 Republican voters in Wisconsin elected 10 members.

"The 336,448 Republican voters in

Minnesota elected 8 members.

"The 480,579 Democratic voters in Indiana elected 3 members.

"Why should a Republican vote in Nebraska be worth on the average less than half as much as one in Maine? And why should a Democratic vote in Indiana be worth only one-twelfth as much as one in Texas?"

These ridiculous results come of retaining an ancient system of representation that has been abandoned by nearly all modern nations. All over Europe the system of proportional representation prevails. The single member system is abandoned and a number of representatives are elected from the same constituency. Each party is given a number of representatives proportionate to the vote it casts. Two or more groups or parties may combine if they wish, but the fusion will not affect the proportion of representatives allotted to other parties by the vote they receive.

Modern Germany probably has the most complete and equitable system of proportional representation of any nation. If after apportioning the seats to all the parties there is a remainder of surplus ballots sufficient to provide one or more seats the additional seats are provided for by an equitable arrangement. The result is that representation in modern Germany more accurately reflects political opinions and the strength of political parties than in any other country.

It would require more space than is available in The American Appeal to describe the system of proportional representation but details can be obtained from the organization named below. What is important is for Socialists and their friends to raise the question of proportional representation wherever they can, in their meetings, their unions, farmer and cooperative organizations, and cooperate with every organization to obtain the needed change in our elections to representative bodies.

What to Do

In cities where it is proposed to adopt a new charter every effort should be made to enlist the support of sympathetic organizations. The organization mentioned below will be glad to provide an expert in mobilizing the forces for proportional representation and writing it into the charter. An effort should be made to have a bill introduced in every session of your legislature to effect the change. Proportional representation literature should be distributed to acquaint every intelligent person with the absurdities of our representative system.

So long as the present misrepresentative system prevails it is likely that the 50 per cent of voters who are disgusted with politics will continue to remain away from the polls. Minority parties will continue to dominate law-making bodies, other minorities will be disfranchised, millions of votes will be cast that are worthless, and the voters will live under one disappointment to another. To call our representative system a "democracy" is as absurd as to call an ox cart a railroad. If there is one political reform that cries out for realization it is proportional representation.

I would urge all who are interested in modernized representation and genuine political democracy to write to the "Proportional Representation League," 1417 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa. That organization will be glad to supply information you desire. Socialists should make this reform prominent in all their agitation and induce others to become active.

Upon Debs telling me the reason of his visit to Washington, I told him it was history repeating itself, only instead of being Jesus Christ this time, it was Debs, and the Attorney General was Pontius Pilate. Debs was so far the best man I have ever known, and I have known some mighty good ones.

There is in my mind not an iota of doubt that Gene was a man of love and longing to help mankind, and I feel that he has not suffered in vain. For some day, some time, there is going to be visible evidence that the seed which he sought to plant in the hearts of all mankind will bear fruit, and his name will be glorified as the greatest martyr of the twentieth century. And I hope and fervently pray that there is a place in the great beyond where I shall meet the best, truest, self-sacrificing man that ever lived, the true grand old man, Eugene Victor Debs.

SAMUEL MOORE, No. 22

A life prisoner confined in the Atlanta Federal Prison who has served over thirty five years.

When my time on earth expires, And my life begins to ebb, It will be my last desire, To be with you, Eugene Debs.

It would spoil the day for him, and when he had previously been pleased and in the best of spirits, he would not be seen to smile again for the rest of the day. Every now and then, he would be seen to be talking to himself and shaking his head.

Another thing that the world at large did not seem to know was that Debs was a patient, benevolent, and in his room in the Hospital, he would sometimes, though very rarely, be inspired with a muse spirit; as he was reminiscent, and as an outlet to his great soul, he would write a few words, or recite a poem by James Whitcomb Riley, Field, Masters, Markham, DeWitt, and a host of others whom he claimed as his friends, and poets of the first water.

Tribute to Theodore

In speaking of Gene Debs, we do not want to lose sight of the fact that there was a rather hard-working silent partner in all of Gene's great endeavors, who is due all the more credit because of his reticence in claiming recognition in his brother's work. I speak of Theodore Debs.

Don't forget that in all of Gene's suffering and reverses, he did not suffer half as much as Theodore. Gene was a philosopher, and did not worry where he himself was concerned, but Theodore was very solicitous of Gene's welfare. This man should be given credit for the part he took in Gene's great work. No history would be complete without the mention of this right hand of Gene's, Theodore Debs.

It is a fact that the Administration looked upon Debs as being an exceptional character, and a man in every sense of the word. For who made the perfect man, a saint whose history was ever allowed to dwell in civilian clothes, and go to Washington on his honor, with no officer attending, for a personal interview with the Attorney General and the President, who were anxious and desirous of saving their conscience for

that he became a nervous wreck, and when he had previously been pleased and in the best of spirits, he would not be seen to smile again for the rest of the day. Every now and then, he would be seen to be talking to himself and shaking his head.

In all my life I have never seen nor heard of a single man who had so many friends as Debs. I mean when I say friends—"FRIENDS," True, Pure, Genuine, and if I may use the word to convey my meaning—"un-anticipating" friends. By that I mean true, honest, unassuming and not-looking-forward to anything but pure friendship.

You know, these days it has become a habit for one to profess friendship for selfish gain. But the sweetness and peace that comes to one whose heart is in his new found friend is above the average man to appreciate and understand. While Debs was in prison here, he received letters from every state in the union. On Christmas Eve, 1922, Debs received 560 letters and 403 Christmas Cards.

Miraculous Influence

I had not been acquainted with Debs one week, before I wanted to be like him. Then I found myself soliloquizing on what I might have been, had I had a father or a friend like him when I was young and in the molding, before I came to prison. I know I would have been somebody. But like the words written by some famous person, there was no use of dreaming on "It might have been."

But the one thing that so puzzles and astounds me is the element of heart and intelligence by the "higher ups," and their inexcusable display of ignorance in not realizing and appreciating the visible evidence that in this man Debs, they had a character that embodied all the tenderness, love, and sweet fineness that goes to make the perfect man, a saint whose heart was torn by the troubles of others, and a heart that gladdened at the joy of others. I don't know of any better way to have hurt Debs' feelings than by imposing on the man in his presence, whether the man imposed upon was a stranger or not.

VOTE YOUR OPINION OF THE AMERICAN APPEAL

The American Appeal wants the opinion of its readers with the view of making it the most perfect educational instrument that its means will allow and a paper that they will be satisfied to use to get us circulation and make Socialists. The opinions of the readers will largely determine any changes we may make in the Appeal in an effort to make it this kind of paper. Kindly answer the following questions in the blank spaces below and clip and return to the Appeal at once. If you feel so inclined, add in a BRIEF, SEPARATE LETTER, any criticisms, commendations or recommendations you desire to make.

- 1.—On the whole do you like the American Appeal?
- 2.—Do you like its general plan of educating largely through significant news?
- 3.—Do you like its Feature Department?
- 4.—Do you think it ought to have more abstract propaganda matter on scientific Socialism and less propaganda matter showing the present breakdown of capitalism and developments toward Socialism?
- 5.—Should the Appeal be a straight propaganda paper only?
- 6.—Is the Appeal running too much news?
- 7.—Should it confine itself more to issues and developments in America and less to world developments toward Socialism?
- 8.—Do you like so many large headlines?
- 9.—Would you like to see the Appeal use mostly small headlines?
- 10.—Should the Appeal be more in the nature of a Socialist interpretation of news, rather than news?
- 11.—Should it adopt a better or more sensational tone?
- 12.—Should there be more short paragraphs?
- 13.—Would you like to see the Appeal made up largely of short editorial matter smashing at current evils, developments and opinions from the Socialist angle?
- 14.—Would you like to see the front page given over largely to this kind of matter with small headlines and to paragraphs, rather than to significant news, longer articles and prominent headlines, as now?
- 15.—Is one page, as now, too much space to be devoted to Socialist Party, Yipcel and Appeal Army News?

Name of voter and address.....

The results of the vote on each of these fifteen questions will be published in the Appeal. As far as is practical, the Appeal will be governed by this vote. EVERY READER OF THE APPEAL IS ENTITLED TO VOTE, AND WE URGE EVERY ONE TO DO SO. In order to guard against duplicated and fraudulent votes we will run this ballot only in this issue of the American Appeal. IT IS YOUR ONLY CHANCE TO VOTE ON THE POLICY OF THE APPEAL. Be sure to use this ballot YOURSELF SO AS TO PREVENT THOSE FROM USING IT WHO ARE NOT ENTITLED TO DO SO, and in order to give us a fair and full expression of Appeal opinion to guide us.

Some Opinions of the Appeal

Here are some opinions about the Appeal received during the week:

"Every one of the front page articles in the issue of July 2 is great, but I think the most portentous one is 'World Cooperation: Rising Out of the Capitalist Order.' The next in my opinion is 'Public Ownership Forces in Illinois Smash Insub Bill.' The article about the proposed reform of the House of Lords is very significant. But I must ask you to compare the looks of the first page with the looks of the other three. Barring the outrageous headlines on the first page, the articles follow each other as they should, while in the other three they don't follow each other at all. They rather form a Chinese puzzle. Why, comrades, do you do

—Dr. George Welby Van Pelt, Washington, D. C.

"The Appeal has had some wonderfully fine articles of late which I wish I could get in leaflet form, notably, 'British Laborites Tell Why America Has No Labor Party,' 'The Small Town Church—How Capitalism Rules the Village,' anonymous and others."

—Warren Atkins, Rochester, N. Y.

"The article, 'Come, Youth of America,' by George Hibner in your issue of June 25th, is one of the best I ever read, and I think it might be printed in leaflet form."

—H. Listerman, Cincinnati, Ohio.

A Socialist Program for the United States

Editor's Note

The following is part of a speech delivered by Morris Hillquit at the recent session of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment, Pa. and sent to the Appeal by Dr. Laidler, our Feature Editor. The impending national election of 1938 gives this article from this Socialist leader special significance and timeliness and opens up among American Socialists a fruitful field for thought and discussion.

—M. E. K.

Morris Hillquit

(International Secretary, American Socialist Party; Member of the Socialist National Executive Committee)

I am inclined to believe that American Socialists have always attached too much importance to programs and statements of political faith. Our platforms have in most instances been lengthy disquisitions on the cardinal principles of Socialist philosophy, coupled with a detailed map of the whole road leading to the realization of its ultimate ideal. We have had simple and strangely non-Marxian faith in the magic effect of the word, and our efforts to create an effective Socialist movement have taken the form of a continuous search for a proper program, a formulation of our views and aims in such lucid and convincing language that it would secure instantaneous acceptance and support of the large masses of the American people. Our platforms have been little read and have had practically no effect on the changing fortunes of American capitalism. The fact is that programs do not make movements, but on the contrary movements produce programs.

When the social, political and economic conditions of a given time and

place become so oppressive on a class of people as to call for drastic remedies, the basis of a radical mass movement is created.

To be successful the movement must of course be planfully shaped and co-ordinated, and its aims must be definitely stated. It must have an organization and a program. But the organization must be rooted in the actual political and economic needs of a large class of the people, and the program must be a true expression of these needs. Since the popular needs vary with the varying conditions of time, place and circumstances there can be no such thing as a model Socialist program of universal and permanent validity. During the absolutistic regime of the Romanoffs, the Socialists of Russia were badly hampered by difficulties of propaganda and organization. Their principal political platform plank was naturally the demand for freedom of speech and organization. During the absolutistic regime of the Romanoffs, the Socialists of Russia were badly hampered by difficulties of propaganda and organization. Their principal political platform plank was naturally the demand for freedom of speech and organization.

The Question of Dictatorship

One may question whether the theory of proletarian dictatorship, prognosticated by Marx and Engels about half a century ago, had proved to have justification or applicability in modern times. One may deny that the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" was ever intended to mean the absolute rule of a political

party, the suppression of all freedom of press, speech and action outside of the party and of criticism even within the party. One may admit the necessity of such a regime as an exceptional condition during an acute state of civil war, and reject it as a normal and durable form of government. But whatever may be thought of the merits of the proletarian dictatorship as practiced in Russia, it cannot be denied that it is an actual and vital issue in contemporary Russian politics and that the subject, pro and con, has a legitimate place in the Russian Socialist program. In a program of a Socialist group in the United States any plank on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is for the same reason ridiculously out of place.

Peaceful vs. Violent Action

Similarly in countries in which the Socialist movement is or may be approaching the point of political supremacy, the question whether the conquest of the government is to be accomplished violently or peacefully, is one of vital importance. The Western Socialist movements have generally declared their preference for peaceful and constitutional methods. But regardless of the merits of the question, it is obvious that in Great Britain, Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark, and in other countries of similar social and economic conditions, the issue has real meaning. In the program of a Socialist movement in its infancy it would be devoid of sense.

The task of Socialist parties without substantial political strength is vastly different from that of parties who control the government of their countries or exert a powerful influence on them. Nor are the problems of all weak Socialist movements identical or even similar. In countries of undeveloped capitalism, such for instance as the Balkan countries or

those of Asia, the movement calls primarily for measures of economic development and for a campaign of political education. In Italy, where the Socialist movement had attained to a high degree of development, and where its organization has been forcibly suppressed by the fascist reaction, the overthrow of Fascism is the indispensable condition of Socialist reconstruction, and that plank must be given first place in the political platform of the Italian Socialists.

Must Adapt to American Conditions

The program of American Socialism must be closely related to the specific economic, political and social conditions of the United States. A mere translation or adaptation of the heavy "theses" made in Moscow or of the admirable platform of the Australian Socialists would have about the same effect on the American masses as a splendid oration in Russian on Nebraska farmers or a German dissertation on Kentucky mountaineers.

Prosperity and the American Socialist Movement

What then are the distinguishing features of American economic, political and social life, as affecting the specific problems of American Socialism?

The United States presents the unique spectacle of a Socialist movement in a country of highly developed capitalism. It is the most striking exception to the Marxian rule of social development. The reasons for this paradoxical situation are too many to enumerate. The poverty of the country, the absence of hereditary aristocracy, the heterogeneous character of its population, the greater opportunity for individual advancement, the constant flux of its economic life and the very

rapidly of its industrial development have all contributed to it. But the main cause of the retardation of American Socialism has undoubtedly been the comparative prosperity of the American workers. This has been the case particularly since the war when the United States became the center and depository of the wealth of the world.

American Prosperity Overrated

The huge post-war wave of prosperity has undoubtedly been the greatest single obstacle in the path of Socialist progress in the United States, but I do not believe it is insuperable. To begin with the prosperity of the American workers is largely overrated. The workers in the building trades and a few other skilled trades earn larger wages, absolute and relative, than those who received before the war, but in other industries, notably in transportation and mining, wages are still comparatively low, while in still others unemployment is a chronic and seemingly incurable condition.

Our Imperialism

In the sphere of international relations our government policy is characterized by a brutal military imperialism towards some of our Southern neighbors and by a more subtle but no less dangerous form of financial imperialism towards other Latin-American and European countries. The policy of our government toward Soviet Russia is reactionary, stupid and its provocative attitude in dealing with Mexico is fraught with grave danger of war. In this field the American Socialists have perhaps the clearest advantage over their political opponents. They represent the only party which has

at all times openly, courageously and consistently opposed war, and the American people want peace.

Ethical and Economic Factors

These then are the elements of a practical Socialist program in the United States. American Socialists must make their appeal to the broad masses of the producing population, agricultural as well as industrial, and even to certain sections of the middle classes. Our appeal must stress the spiritual, ethical and cultural aspects of our movement to a greater degree than heretofore, without neglecting the fundamental economic problems. Our indictment must be directed against the waste in production, the iniquitous distribution of wealth, the sordidness and precariousness of the worker's life, at least as much as against their relatively low economic standards.

A Possible Program of Action

Our main economic plank must deal with social insurance for workers in cases of unemployment, sickness, invalidism and old age, and adequate government help for farmers. Politically we must demand above all an effective curb on the powers of the courts to nullify laws and to paralyze the struggles of the workers by injunctions.

In international policy we must combat imperialism and war, and demand the recognition of Soviet Russia. I am not attempting here to formulate a complete program of action, but merely to outline the main points on which the political action of American Socialism should center at this time.

It is perhaps needless to add that such a practical program does not imply the abandonment or even the pension of the general Socialist philosophy or the ultimate Socialist goal.

Prosperity Fails to Supply Wants of American Workers

Editor's Note

The following is part of a speech delivered by the editor of the Feature Department of the American Appeal at the recent session of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa. to consider the nature of present American Prosperity. It picks this bubble effectively.

—M. E. K.

Harry W. Laidler

(Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy)

A Living Wage

One of the wants of labor is a wage sufficient to permit a good American life. In the building trades, in the clothing, the printing and some other trades where labor is well organized, in periods of prosperity it has been obtaining, as has been indicated, a wage of health and decency.

Yet in tens of thousands of instances, the wage of the workers of the country is not sufficient to permit anything above the bare necessities. Last year the National Industrial Conference Board, an excellent research bureau, reported that, in their union, a wage of \$1.07 a year or \$36.68 a week was essential for a decent living for a family of five in New York City (as contrasted with about \$2300, estimated by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, as the average wage of \$36.08 a week, according to the report of the Board, would do several things.

It would permit the family in Manhattan to pay \$34 a month for rent and obtain three or four rooms in one of the old law tenements or 1 1/2 of a room in a modern up-to-date apartment house. An increasing number of families, the report states, are now doubling up, using the same kitchen and bath room, because of the high rents in that borough. This yearly income could permit of simple clothing. It would permit the families to put aside the sum of 85 cents a week for recreation. Families on this, the investigation suggests, could not, of course, go to the country on an extended vacation. They could, go to the movies, take a ride to Coney Island, and so on, and then, there were many other entertainments available free of charge. The bosses often give free shows to their workers. There were free concerts given by the city in the parks, free lectures and plunges to be had in free swimming pools. Why ask for more?

The budget would permit the sum of 20 cents a week for each member of the family for doctors and dentists. If more were available, mothers might develop imaginary ailments. Thirty-one cents is available for the entire family for trade union and other organizations—just as well, workers ought to be made to rely on company unions that come free of cost. The investigator puts aside 75 cents a week for the family for new

furniture and the repair of old furniture, thus encouraging the family to preserve antiques, so popular nowadays. Thirty-five cents a week may go for reading material, stationery, postage, telephones, etc. Beard's "Rise and Fall of American Civilization" would be a much of a show if it depended on this budget. And 60 cents is allotted to the family for candy and tobacco, for alas, comments the researcher, "Men will smoke and children will have their candy, no matter what the standard of living is."

That leaves no margin for saving for unemployment, old age, sickness or future contingencies for tuition for the children in college,—but that is not needed, since only 32 per cent of the children enter high school and only 13 per cent graduate from secondary schools.

Certainly the foregoing is not a budget for a gorgeously expansive life. And yet, while many families obtain more than this minimum, many others secure less. The average wage of factory workers in New York in the first half of 1936—many of them heads of family of five—was \$29.31, over \$7 less than this modest budget demands. In 1921, the average wage in all industries, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research, was but \$21.49 a week. Today, probably today range around \$25-\$26.

Many families, it is true, don't consist of five persons. In many instances the children and wives work, thus augmenting the family budget. In other instances, they take in boarders. But despite all that, only a minority today secure sufficient to permit them to enjoy an abundant life, despite our prosperity.

Security in Employment

There are other wants, unsatisfied besides the want of a sufficient income. The worker, among other things, wants security in his job—he wants—bitterly wants—an opportunity for continuous work as long as he is willing to do his fair share of work.

How secure is he in his work? A recent study of the United States Labor Bureau declared that, taking good years and bad, taking fifteen to sixteen million industrial wage-earners, one and a half million were constantly out of work. The United States Department of Labor recently reported that in the productivity of labor increasing something like 34 per cent during the last 6 years, the number of workers in the manufacturing plants have decreased some 7 per cent. This accounts for some of the surplus labor on the market at the present time. In several industries, including the bituminous mines, the textile, the shoe industries, etc., the unemployment and underemployment is tragic. Lines of factory doors day after day. Idle hands in shipyards, in lumber camps, on railroads, in clothing centers. And behind these lines, tens of thousands of mothers and little children at

home, denied life's necessities, undernourished, poorly sheltered, dreading what the future has in store for them.

Herbert Hoover was this time at least right when he said: "There is no economic failure so terrible in its impact as that of a country possessing a surplus of every necessity of life in which members, willing and anxious to work, are deprived of these necessities."

Here in America, this condition prevails. The cry of the workers for security in their jobs is by no means satisfied.

Security of Life and Limb

The workers want security of life and limb while at work. Yet we find that human life is far from secure. Each year in American industry there occur in the neighborhood of 25,000 deaths from accidents and 2,000,000 temporary disabilities of more than 3 days' duration. The toll of life and limb exacted by American industries during the second decade of the twentieth century exceeds the nation's losses in battle from the Declaration of Independence to the present day. More workers were maimed in our industries during the period of America's participation in the great war than were killed and wounded in the American expeditionary force abroad. And the Hoover engineers declared that, with proper safeguards, 75 per cent of these injuries could have been avoided.

The workers want security from disease caused by unwholesome conditions in the industry. Yet Duane Leifoff were able to catalogue in 1922 700 hazardous occupations. The casualties from lead poisoning among the painters, the enamelers, the printers, etc., is still tragically large. And, in many instances, because of the terrific drive in modern industry, the worker finds himself physically exhausted and thrown on the scrap heap in the early forties.

Security in Old Age

In fact, whereas in a number of the skilled trades it is possible for a man to work on to a ripe age, in modern mass production, with its intense application to specialized tasks, a man often finds age a severe handicap. In a recent investigation into an American automobile plant employing 30,000 men, nearly one-half were found to be 29 years of age or less, and more than four-fifths were below forty. Magnus Alexander of the National Industrial Conference Board, found that the average age of 40,000 men employed in twelve metal-working establishments was thirty-one and one-half years; and the same was found to be true in a large steel plant and in a brass works. In the steel mill, only 23 per cent were above 40 years of age.

"The great mass of the workers under machine production," declares Professor Warren Catlin, "whether men or women find that age and experience, with the fixed habits they bring, instead of proving a valuable asset (as under the older, less strenuous, and more stable hand-

craft system), often prove a handicap, because they decrease adaptability and lower efficiency. Modern industry mortgages the future for the sake of the present, and makes the workers prematurely old. At the same time it offers less and less employment suited to the abilities of older people. Many concerns will not take on new men who are over thirty-five. The maximum age on the railroad is usually forty-five and the actual practice favors a much lower age."

What is the worker going to do after reaching that age? He doesn't graduate from a steel mill into the presidency of a New England college. Abraham Epstein estimated that at least 1,500,000 aged people in the United States are dependent in the sense that they have not accumulated a sufficient income of their own to provide them even with the barest necessities and that the number of aged people protected against poverty by the pension plan of industrial concerns, fraternal and trade union association, is negligible. The only alternative is the poor house or some other form of public charity. China, India and the United States are today the only large countries without some kind of constructive care such as old age pensions for the aged.

Power, Freedom, Fellowship

The more thoughtful and more intelligent workers have other wants that the present period of "prosperity" does not satisfy. They want a genuine say over the control of their life in the work shop. They want the right of industrial power. They want power to express themselves creatively. They find in many basic industries of the country still unorganized, that they are cogs in the wheel, attuned to the speed of the machine, spied on by a well organized spy system, that they are treated with contempt and that they are not allowed to organize their fellows.

They want the more enlightened of them—freedom from exploitation. They find that they must carry an idle class on their backs, that the social product is not equally distributed, and that many who claim to want little or nothing in industry live lives of luxury, while thousands of workers toil for just a living wage.

The workers want fellowship. They find that the economic system is organized on a wage basis, and that the profit motive which leads to class conflict at home, is leading too often to international conflict with other nations. Our present imperialism is augmenting the possibilities of such conflicts.

Leisure

They want leisure. They find that the tragic waste of our productive power is in limiting their leisure. And more and more they are agreeing with the guess of Stuart Chase that, under a properly organized system, work could be reduced by half, without any decrease in the amount of useful goods produced.

They want freedom and they realize that freedom is impossible under an economic system which concentrates such tremendous power over the lives of the many into the hands of a few.

They want status for themselves and their families, and many of them are beginning to realize that they are placed in the ranks of inferiors, under a system where they share but little in the control and ownership of the economic plant.

Of course, the intensity of these various wants differ among different groups of workers and among different individuals in the same groups, but these in general may be said to be the most crying wants of the working class.

Some of these wants can be in part satisfied by improvements under a privately owned industrial system. Some of them have been satisfied in part in certain specially favored trades. Many of them—particularly those based on the elimination of exploitation, of waste and autocratic industrial control—can be satisfied only by a complete reconstruction of the economic order, and the development of a social control akin to identical with, that proposed by socialists.

The Farmer Problem—The Near Future and the Final Remedy

In Four Articles Article IV.

By Tim True

The Tragedy of the Farm

Capitalist property aims at automatic and absolute dominion, which will only be achieved when it has forced the farmer into the wage worker's ranks; and there remains to the farmer, out of all the elements that contributed to his independence, only the ownership of his farm, where he has been successful in retaining it. All the other elements appear as capitalist property, and, in that character, as oppressive forces. Each of the others went when machinery assured its success as a capitalist enterprise. Stripped of everything else by machine development, what guarantee has the farmer that machine development will not also strip him of his acres?

To the extent that the farm-owner has survived, he has won through only by a hard struggle. He has managed to do so very largely because every member of his family helped to operate the farm. Even after agricultural machinery of many kinds was available for land tillage, the farm family, working as a unit, could work soil holdings more advantageously than large acreages—so-called "bonanza farms"—could be operated by hired help. How this was done is part of the American farm tragedy.

The farmer worked hard himself for extremely long hours, and drove his hired help at breakneck speed, when he had any. He drafted his children at a tender age, and hurried his wife in dairy and field and home. This is the price the farm family paid for ownership, and often, too often, did not succeed, or only just succeeded. This was a general rule, and it has been the rule. The farmer had to be merciless as an employer and inconsiderate as a husband and parent. He was not cruel because he was so disposed, but because the exactions of capitalist property compelled him to do as he was kept too busy to learn that he was whipping up the wrong team.

What's Ahead for the Farmer?

As invention follows invention, and improvement succeeds improvement, much more active machinery becomes available in agriculture. The tractor and caterpillar effectively treat land that mired the steam engine and could not always be worked with horses. Then, these additions to farm equipment increase the productivity of farm labor many fold, and as the productivity of farm labor increases the foundation is being laid for the capitalization of agriculture. Capitalist property will deprive the farmer of his land just as it has deprived him of everything else. The deflation following the World War helped to prepare the way for this development. It is not a question of the farmer waking up, but of waking up soon enough to avoid becoming a hired hand upon the acres he used to own. This is not an imaginary, but a very real danger.

The National Farm Bureau, of production, social in character, scope and function, is imperative for farmer and worker alike. While the railroads, warehouses, banks, and similar fundamentally social agencies are capitalistically owned, they will be operated without regard for the common welfare; and neither relief, nor hope of relief, will be in sight for the agriculturist.

The farmer is more or less awake to the fact that the economic and social disadvantages under which he suffers are attributable to the trusts, without realizing, or even suspecting, that antagonism inheres in the relationship between this form of

property and the form he holds. Therefore, with naive confidence he seeks economic relief from the political partisans of Wall Street. Relief from this source will not be forthcoming, and should not be expected. Entrenched privilege will not relinquish advantage. If the farmer and worker obtain relief, it will not be by pleading with a hostile interest, but by organizing their collective political power to wrest the control of government from their enemies. With government in their hands, the farmers and workers would alter existing relationships, and restore to the people the rights and security of which capitalist property has deprived them.

Face the Facts

There is too prevalent a disposition to cater to the farmer's prejudice and to feed his hope. To promise him what he wishes, rather than to teach him what he must expect, has been the policy of those who would help him. But relief and remedy lie neither in deception nor misconception. There are inexorable facts to be faced courageously and interpreted correctly, and immutable laws that must be recognized and obeyed. In dealing with the farmer's problem, progress in its solution is predicted upon the acknowledgement and observance of this.

It is not at all impossible to assist the farmer and progress at the same time, but helping to preserve his illusions will not help him and may retard progress. If the farmer does not move in accord with the irresistible forces that propel society forward to higher destinies, he will be disastrous to his economic and social ambitions must result. The social trend is forward and he cannot go backward if he would. To make his private property permanent is not possible or desirable from the social viewpoint, which is the viewpoint that should, must, and will prevail. Society, mankind, is greater than any of the elements of which it is composed, and its interest is more important. In the vernacular, the farmer must realize that "he is not the whole cheese." He must level with, or be overrun by, the social membership.

Every factory industry once had its counterpart in some farm activity. The pressure of social forces separated them from the farm. The early manufacturers shared the individualistic or competitive idea to which the farmer yet clings so tenaciously. Gradually and painfully they discovered that competition was a source of weakness and danger. They found themselves compelled to abandon it and substitute combination or co-operation. This co-operation, however, only extended to the members of particular groups in the beginning, but was later, as its advantages came to be appreciated, extended to combine these groups; and the trusts were born.

The application of the co-operative idea by the capitalists has the peculiar characteristic that it is not intended to be co-operation for production, but co-operation for control of social resources, and of the labor force, in order to render these resources profitable to them and to themselves exclusively. Insofar as Wall Street people concern themselves, they combine not to aid production but to avoid taking part in it. That this greedy and very anti-social disposition aids production, as has been remarked before, is a curious, incidental not purposeful. Hence the term—capitalist property.

Co-operation Progressive Step

Today we observe the farmer turning hopefully to co-operation—as a stronger group co-operation. It will strengthen him, but must eventually bring him disappointment, unless he brings his co-operation into the relationship between this form of

ing—is taken out of the control of capitalist property. Even then, there will only have been reached a point from which the social perspective becomes more clear, when there would come the real struggle, when the group co-operation brings some relief it cannot achieve emancipation. It is a stage in the farmer's social journey, but not his destination.

In considering the farmer's problem it is necessary to take into account the modern system of agriculture and the relationship of farming to, and dependence upon, other industries. When this is done, we find we are not dealing with an agricultural system only but with the capitalist system. To separate agriculture from the other industries and the farmer from the workers in this is as impossible as was Mother Potts' attempt to sweep back the tide.

Does modern agriculture begin on the land or in the factory? No one is foolish enough to say in which, because modern production is social in character. Without the International Harvester Company, and other concerns that provide the means of modern farm cultivation, agriculture, competent to serve the requirements of our time, would be impossible. Those who labor in these factories assist the farmer to cultivate his acres. He could not till his land without them. Neither could they labor in the factory without his assistance. It is evident, then, that they do co-operate to produce the wealth in which both farmer and worker have a share. But the farmer's share is not commensurate with the services they render. As they co-operate in production so must they co-operate to secure the justice that are now denied. To recognize the mutual dependence is the first requirement of farmer and worker in order that they may plan for mutual aid. Neither can help himself by himself, but both, acting in concert, can win the world and break their chains. The Socialist Party offers a common ground where they can come together and co-ordinate their efforts, assume control of government, and minister to the common welfare.

Unity and Security

The workers, torn from agriculture to bring mankind forward through the travails of industry, must be reunited to the brother who toils upon the land, to usher in the New Society, which will restore the farm economy upon a national scale. All will again labor and none will want. Peace and security, long denied to farmer and worker, will be the inalienable rights and common heritage of all. Men and women will again produce use-values for the maintenance and comfort of all. The New Society, which it is the historic mission of the farmers and workers to bring about, will know neither privileges nor profits, divisions nor denials. In its service will be the test of merit and the measure of reward. The war-drum will be silenced, the cannon silenced, and the flag will ever flutter when operation, not conquest, governs the nation.

The political unity of the farmers and workers is the next step in human progress.

"Another public ownership failure," is the favorite slogan of the representatives of private industry. If the advocates of public ownership had to record all the failures of private enterprise they would be agitated. In 1926, the year of boom and commercial prosperity, there were 21,773 private failures in the United States. In a year of panic there are several times as many private failures as this.

Sign On The Dotted Line And Get Things Started

Sub-A-Month Membership Pledge Organized Army of the American Appeal

American Appeal, 2633 Washington Blvd., Chicago:
I hereby agree to obtain for the American Appeal in the future at least one subscription per month, or its equivalent. Enroll me in the Organized Army of the American Appeal.

Name Address